It Will Be Token Registration

By CHARLES V. HAMILTON

(The author of this article, along with Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, William P. Mitchell, and other leaders of the Tuskegee (Ala.) Civic Association, initiated the drive for a federal registration law which snowballed into a nationwide campaign. Mr. Hamilton, an attorney and professor, here analyzes the law which finally emerged.)

Compromise, election-year politics, and a further tendency to rely on an already overburdened Federal judiciary have combined to produce a voter registration law which, at best, will assure only "token registration" of Southern Negroes.

The voting provisions of the new civil rights bill passed by Congress are cumbersome and complex and, probably, will have little meaning for most of the 3,735,000 potential Negro voters in the South.

Under the new law, a Federal court must first find that a citizen has been deprived of the right to vote because of race or color. This must be shown to be part of a "pattern or practice."

Then additional proof must be shown before a court-appointed, local qualified voter (referee) that the citizen has been deprived of the right to vote *since* the original court finding.

C. V. Hamilton

One could sincerely question the necessity for proving a "pattern or practice." One denial on account of race would appear to be quite sufficient. One must, also, question the real practical effects of "local" persons serving as referees.

The new law places additional legal burdens on citizens who have been denied the vote. Very clearly, the law is saying that if Negroes in the South really want to vote, they must withstand extra ordeal by litigation to do so.

This presents two challenges to civil rights groups.

(Continued on Page 4)

The Southern PATRIOT

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'We'd Do It Again'

Jailhouse Notes

By BARBARA JOAN BROXTON

(This is Part III of a report written in jail by Misses Priscilla and Patricia Stephens and Miss Barbara Joan Broxton. They were among Florida A. & M. University students who chose 60-day jail terms as a means of protest rather than pay $300 fines for sitting at a Woolworth lunch counter in Tallahassee. This was written in mid-April, after they had been in jail for a month. Miss Broxton is from Wabasso, Fla.)

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Every night before we go to sleep we thank God that in this small way we are able to help those who are denied equal rights. We do not consider going to jail a sacrifice but a privilege.

Sixty days are not long to spend in jail. We will do it again for a cause as great as this one.

I will probably have to do it again since I was among those arrested a second time during a peaceful mass demonstration of the Florida A. & M. students. My brother and I were among those who did not turn back although tear gas was used. It takes more than tear gas to turn me around.

Those of us going to jail on March 18 met at the Bethel Baptist Church for silent prayer. We were a little scared, but determination and prayers can withstand any obstacles.

After giving our decisions at the Police Station we were taken to Leon County Jail. The four girls (the Stephens sisters, Angelina Nance and I) were separated from the boys and taken to the "Bull Rank."

The "Bull Rank" consists of four cells in which there is a sink, a commode and four beds in each one. Unfortunately, only two sinks are in working condition. There are two long tables and two benches to each table, and there is a small shower at the end of the cells.

After settling down we talked with the prisoners. There are all types of people here — crazy, abnormal, drunkards, rogues, etc.

The food is terrible, but one

(Continued on Page 3)

Southern Leaders Urge U.S. To Act

Twenty-four integration leaders from 11 Southern states asked President Eisenhower to strengthen the hand of the U.S. in the United Nations by making a firm statement in support of Southern Negroes struggling for constitutional rights.

In a telegram sent at the time of the U.N. Security Council debate on South Africa, the leaders commended the State Department for its protest against mass killing of Africans.

But they noted that Southern Negroes are being subjected to intimidation, threats, and violence by local and state governments committed to white supremacy and asked:

"Africans are turning to the U.N. for moral support and encouragement. Must we?"

This was part of a growing demand from the South that the Federal Government act to halt terrorism in the Deep South. Terror tactics have increased since the upsurge of non-violent resistance to segregation—especially in Alabama. Mounted posses have been formed by white supremacists in Montgomery and other Black Belt counties.

The telegram to Eisenhower

Let's Look Homeward, Too!

was coordinated by SCEF. Signers were:

The Rev. R. O. Abernathy, Montgomery, Ala.; Dr. John S. Chambers, executive secretary, Kentucky Council of Churches; Dean Grady D. Davis, Shaw University School of Religion, Raleigh; John Wesley Dobbs, Atlanta, grand master, Prince Hall Masons; Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; Dr. E. B. Henderson, Virginia; John L. LeFlore, Mobile civic leader; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Dr. Herman H. Long, Nashville; Bishop Edgar A. Love, of The Methodist Church; Dr. Herbert Marshall III, Washington; the Rev. Alexander D. Moseley, Weldon, N. C.;

E. D. Nixon, Montgomery, Ala.; Dr. M. M. D. Perdue, Louisville Baptist leader; the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham; Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, Columbia, S. C.; Dr. C. O. Simpkins, Shreveport, La.; the Rev. C. K. Steele, Tallahassee, Fla.; Presiding Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, Louisville;

W. Hale Thompson, Virginia attorney; A. T. Walden, Atlanta attorney; Carter Wesley, Houston publisher; Aubrey W. Williams, SCEF president, and Presiding Bishop Smallwood E. Williams, Washington. Also Richland County Citizens Committe, Columbia, S. C.

The 'Bull' Whip

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham leader, asked U.S. Attorney General William P. Rogers to help end violations of rights by police in that city.

This was after Mr. Shuttlesworth and other Negro leaders were arrested and held incommunicado under vagrancy laws following sit-ins. A white student sympathizer was also arrested.

Mr. Shuttlesworth's request was supported by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and other leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The protest brought national press attention to the Birmingham situation. William Shannon, *New York Post* columnist wrote:

"For a man of Fred Shuttlesworth's religious dedication, spending a night or two in the Birmingham jail must seem like a comparatively trivial burden. But surely the Attorney General of the U.S. should take a somewhat different view . . . Or have the words and whims of 'Bull' Connor (Birmingham police commissioner) become the law of the land?"

The New York Times said: "In Birmingham neither blacks nor whites talk freely. A pastor carefully closes the door before he speaks. A Negro keeps a wary eye on the sidewalk outside his house. Telephones are tapped—or there is fear of tapping. Mail has been intercepted and opened . . . the spy has become a fact of life."

King Defended

A national committee of prominent citizens was formed to defend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., under indictment on a perjury charge in Alabama. It called his indictment a "brutal device" to intimidate civil rights leaders. His trial was set for this month.

Hitler Was 'Legal' Too

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — A debate rages in the South as to whether a Negro is justified in disobeying a law that is morally wrong.

This question is one of several covered in a report on the Nashville sit-ins prepared by Wallace Westfeldt for the Nashville Community Relations Conference.

An answer was provided by a Vanderbilt University professor. After listening to arguments that penalties against a student were justified because there are laws against sit-ins, he said: "Everything Hitler did in Germany was legal."

Review of The Month

Non-violent action against segregation spread to Baton Rouge, La., and Marshall, Tex., and on a smaller scale to Louisville, Ky., and several other communities. It finally reached Mississippi, where Negroes met violence when attempting to swim at a Biloxi beach.

Victories were won against segregated eating facilities in Dallas and Galveston, Tex.; St. Joseph and Jefferson City, Mo.; Baltimore, and at four stores in Richmond, Va. Prospects were reported good in Miami and Houston.

The first major court victory in the resistance movement came in Raleigh, N. C., where trespass charges against 43 pickets were dismissed on the basis of a 14-year-old Supreme Court ruling.

There was violence in Nashville with the bombing of the home of Alexander Looby, Negro civil-rights lawyer. This resulted in a silent march by 3,500 students to demand action by the Mayor.

Segregationists produced a significant new weapon in Alabama—libel suits against their critics. Montgomery city officials sued *The New York Times* and four Alabama integration leaders because of an ad describing conditions in Alabama. Birmingham and Bessemer officials threatened suit over articles printed by *The Times*.

On the school front, desegregation suits were filed in Memphis and Chattanooga, Knoxville submitted a grade-a-year plan, and Dallas was expected to propose a similar plan. Houston's school board was told by its attorney that it must comply with integration orders next fall. A legislative committee investigating public opinion in Georgia recommended a local-option plan.

A Southern Profile

She Named Protest Movement

(By Staff Correspondent)

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The new wave of non-violent resistance to segregation has caused many people to recall the origins of this form of social action on the American scene.

Almost everybody is aware that Negroes here in Montgomery were the first to use this technique on a mass scale in North America. They combined the spirit and motivation of Christianity with the methods of Mohandas K. Gandhi to spark a social revolution.

What is not so well known, but what recent research by *The Southern Patriot* reveals, is that the Gandhi approach was first related to the local bus protest by a Montgomery white woman.

She was the late Juliette Morgan, at the time a librarian at the Montgomery city library.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in his *Stride Toward Freedom*, and his biographer, L. D. Reddick in *Crusader Without Violence*, both note that in the initial days of the 1955 protest neither they nor anyone else had thought of the action as an expression of the Gandhi approach.

"It was the Sermon on the Mount, rather than a doctrine of passive resistance, that initially

Miss Juliette Morgan
1914-1957
Gave it a "local habitation and a name"

inspired the Negroes of Montgomery," King writes.

But as the struggle took shape, Reddick says, its leaders had to think about long-range strategy. Then on December 12, seven days after the protest began, *The Montgomery Advertiser* printed a long letter by Juliette Morgan, in which she said:

"As you remember, Gandhi set out on his 'Salt March' from Sabarmati to the sea — about 150 miles — as a boycott against the government's salt monopoly. He took with him only a loin cloth, a bamboo walking stick and a consuming idea. He vowed that he would not return until India was independent . . . people laughed, sneered or shook their heads, but 17 years later India was free . . .

"The Negroes of Montgomery seem to have taken a lesson from Gandhi . . . One feels that history is being made in Montgomery these days, the most important

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THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT

The Southern Patriot

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VOL. 18, No. 5 — MAY, 1960

News In Brief

In Florida, Gov. LeRoy Collins' mail from within the state was overwhelmingly in favor of his recent speech criticizing merchants who invite Negro business but refuse to serve them at lunch counters.

* * *

In Chapel Hill, N. C., more than 800 signers, mostly white, ran newspaper advertisements pledging moral support and patronage to merchants who provide equal service to all customers.

* * *

In Kentucky, the state Youth Assembly (a statewide mock legislature for high school students) passed a bill to make segregation unlawful in public places. The mock student governor, however, vetoed the bill.

* * *

In Montgomery, a sociology professor, his wife, and 11 students from MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Ill., arrived to study conditions. They found out. All were arrested and fined $50 to $100 for eating with Negro ministers in a Negro cafe. They will appeal. Later, two whites and three Negroes were arrested because the Negroes were visiting socially in the white homes.

* * *

In Dallas, the Rev. H. Rhett James received the highest vote ever given a Negro candidate in a School Board election. He got 7,478 votes against 15,683 for the winning candidate. An interracial committee supported Mr. James in his bid for election.

* * *

In Gadsden County, Fla., a record total of 335 Negroes registered to vote. This is one of the counties where the Civil Rights Commission had reported that Negroes were afraid to register. The registrar attributed the upsurge to "the furor in Washington over Negro voting."

* * *

In Memphis, scene of recent library sit-ins, *The Press-Scimitar* urged editorially that the library admit Negroes.

* * *

In Atlanta, the Southern Sociologists Society, angered by refusal of the Henry Grady Hotel to serve Negro members, voted to meet henceforth only in cities with integrated hotel and dining facilities.

Book Notes

On The Power of Non-Violence

THE POWER OF NONVIOLENCE, by RICHARD B. GREGG, Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y., $2.50

The new wave of non-violent resistance has raised many unanswered questions in the minds of millions, including some of those taking part in the movement.

This clearly written book is especially timely and valuable because it covers the whole field — philosophy of non-violence, its history, its use, and training for its use.

You learn that non-violence is a way of life and not a tactic to be employed opportunistically. Those who follow the way have faith that their opponents can be changed through an appeal to conscience.

They believe that every human being has a decent person inside of him — and that the spark of decency can be made to grow by repeated use of the gentle stimulus of love. But they also believe they cannot change their opponents until they change their own habits.

Richard B. Gregg

No coward can be a real non-violent resister, for the way is often hard. It can lead to jail, loss of jobs, injury, and even death. Non-violence is not to be mistaken for weakness; rather it requires great strength and discipline.

The author speaks from long experience. It was 35 years ago that he went to India to spend four years with the late Mohandas K. Gandhi. *The Power of Nonviolence* was first published in 1935 but was recently revised and republished to bring in new data. These include notable examples of the use of non-violence on a mass scale, such as in the Montgomery bus protest.

This 192-page book is a necessity for those who would understand the ideas now sweeping the South, whether they agree with them or not. The publisher also offers other books and pamphlets on the theory and practice of non-violence.

The Other South

THE OTHER SOUTH, 44-page booklet, Published by SOUTHERN NEWSLETTER, P. O. Box 1307, Louisville 1, Ky., $1.

A brief and inspiring history, with illustrations, of white Southerners who have supported Negroes in their struggle for freedom from colonial days to the present.

New Pamphlets on Witch Hunt

Three organizations recently published pamphlets exposing the witch hunts of the House Un-American Committee, Sen. James Eastland's committee, and state investigating committees patterned after them.

These should be of special interest to the integration movement, as Southern integrationists have been among the main targets of such committees.

Behind the Bars for the First Amendment tells the story of 36 Americans, including several Southerners, now in jail or threatened with jail for defying these committees. Published by the Committee of First Amendment Defendants, it is available from SCEF, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans, for 7c plus a self-addressed envelope with 4½c postage.

Abolish Congressional Inquisition discusses the attacks of these committees on churchmen and religious groups. Order from Religious Freedom Committee, 118 E. 28th St., New York, 25c.

The Truth, published by the National Council of Churches effectively answers attacks on that organization. Available on request from the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

Juliette Morgan...

(Continued from Page 1)

in her career . . ." (For further excerpt from this classic letter, see page 3).

Juliette Morgan became a target of unrestrained venom from Montgomery segregationists. Long frail, her health failed rapidly, and on July 16, 1957, she died at the age of 43.

"But long before she died," King writes, "the name of Mahatma Gandhi was well-known in Montgomery." Today it inspires Negroes throughout the South.

Many people have predicted that a new day in the South will be brought about jointly by its Negro citizens and its white women. The story of this Montgomery woman whose insight helped launch the current movement for freedom is a tragic one, but it is a significant part of the heritage of the "new day" that will come.

* * *

Born and reared in Montgomery, Juliette Morgan was descended from an old Alabama family. She was graduated from the University of Alabama, where she made an outstanding record, and returned to Montgomery to teach in the high school there. Later she worked in a book shop and finally in the reference department of the library.

People in Montgomery remember her as a warm and loving person, who was always going out of her way to do the little things that would brighten her friends' lives, a gay person who brought joy into any gathering she attended. It is significant that she was loved and admired by many who did not share her views on segregation — and still don't.

She was also a brilliant woman, always alert to public affairs. She took an active interest in politics and legislative matters and her frequent letters to the newspapers on these subjects revealed a rich knowledge of history.

A sensitive person, an Episcopalian who took the teachings of Christianity seriously, it was perhaps inevitable that she should cry out against racial injustice. Twenty years ago, she was one of a small but articulate group of Montgomery white women who worked against discrimination in the courts.

In the early 1940's she was already writing letters to the papers attacking the concept of white supremacy. In 1946, she worked against the Boswell Amendment, which was designed to restrict Negro voting.

In 1953, she protested the white supremacy slogan on the Alabama ballot, calling it "an insult to the colored races and a disgrace to the white."

Explaining to a friend how she had come to write this, she mentioned some recent reading and added:

"And then I saw — on the bus I think — Jane Addams' classic question, 'Who if not you? When if not now?' So I went at it. . ."

Sensitive to the point of agony,

(Continued on Page 3)

'Why I Believe in Integration...'

Schoolboy Wants An Equal Chance for All

By ETHAN HIRSH

(The author of this article represents that new generation which is questioning old myths and thinking for itself. He is a 13-year-old eighth-grader in Houston, where he has lived since he was 3. His father, a concert pianist, is a professor at the University of Houston. His mother teaches piano privately. Ethan recently provoked much thought among his friends with a satire he wrote on segregation, describing the difficulties of mythical Siamese twins, one white and one black.)

The South, and I use that term to mean those who are against Negroes and Negroes' rights, believes itself superior to the Negro race. It tries to prove itself superior at all times.

However, while on the "proving grounds" it does not play fairly. It does not allow the other team, the Negroes, even to get in the "competition." So naturally, the Negroes never get near the "finish line."

The South complains that Negroes in general, are not very smart, smart meaning of great knowledge. Then some desegregationist will ask, "How can you possibly expect them to be scholarly without proper schools and properly trained teachers?"

Realizing he has lost his point, the Southerner will say in defense, "But where could the money be obtained to do all that building and training?" That is the next question.

The South — again, in general — is very ungrateful. Take, for example, an owner of a large chain of supermarkets whose customers are at least 40 per cent Negro. Without his sales to Negroes his profits would fall drastically.

Ethan Hirsh

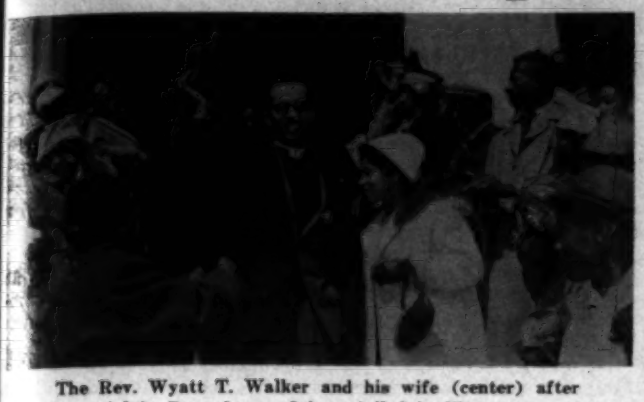
Yet, doesn't the owner shun them from his snack bar or lunch counter? After receiving all their money for as long as the store existed he is such an ingrate as to keep them from eating there.

I believe in integration for the simple reason that I know Negroes are as capable of knowledge as people of any other race. I have seen them where they were allowed to enter the "proving grounds" and reached the "finish line" successfully. They should have the same chances to succeed in life.

Board Quits

FARMVILLE, Va. — Five of the six members of the Prince Edward County School Board have resigned. They said they could not "sit idly by and see all our school buildings unused forever." The county government cut off all funds for public schools last year rather than comply with an integration order. White students are in private schools; Negro students, who unanimously refused an offer of segregated private schools, are without any school facilities.

'The Freest People'



The Rev. Wyatt T. Walker and his wife (center) after his trial in Petersburg. Others jailed in library protest are behind Walker.

PETERSBURG, Va. — When 140 Negroes 'sat in' at the public library here, the city passed an ordinance requiring citizens to leave city-owned property when told by authorities to do so.

The Rev. Wyatt T. Walker and the Rev. R. G. Williams then led a second delegation to the library to test the ordinance. They were arrested and seven spent the night in jail. Mr. Walker reports:

"From the moment the City Council passed this heinous ordinance, we were committed to a position of civil disobedience. To paraphrase Thoreau, though in jail we would be the freest people in Petersburg . . . The right of assembly had been threatened. We had to go to jail . . .

"Our convictions the following Monday were almost anti-climatic. All of us were fined. Reverend Williams and I were given 30-day jail sentences . . .

"As we posted bond for our appeal, I remembered the words of a telegram that came to us in jail: 'In the struggle for civil rights, you may not always win, but you never lose.' "

Notes From Florida Jailhouse

(Continued from Page 1)

must survive. There have been many times that we have sent food back.

We have had from 20 to 200 visitors on visiting days, Sundays and Wednesdays. Many times they are not able to see us. They come with encouraging words and plenty of food.

We decided after our first night here that we would have Bible Class every night. So far we have kept our word. The majority of other prisoners participate. Bible Class consists of Bible reading, prayer and singing softly.

The attitudes of the jailer and matron were quite nasty our first week here. We were told our first day that we could not sing, have a radio or a typewriter. After the lights were put out at 9 o'clock, the night jailer would come around and threaten to put us in the slammer. His reason was that we were "talking too loud."

The slammer is a small, dark, nasty place with little air, as described by the other prisoners. We all agreed that they would not put one in the slammer without the rest.

I don't know what has happened, but for the past three weeks, we have not been bothered much by the jailers and matrons. Maybe they were told to lay off.

Patricia Stephens and I were able to work three days at the Police Station before we were fired. The reason they gave for this action was that we were late.

I think the reason for their hasty decision was that Pat and I were talking to a Florida State University student on the lawn during visiting hours. FSU is white, and the white students are not allowed to visit us.

Each of us now receives from five to ten letters a day. They come from states all over. It makes us feel good to receive letters of encouragement and inspiration.

Although we were in jail Palm Sunday, it was as beautiful an occasion as ever. We all wore crosses that Priscilla Stephens and I made the night before. We made enough for the other white and colored female prisoners and for the Florida A. & M. boys jailed with us — my brother, John Broxton, and William Larkins.

We all got up early Easter morning at 4:35 a.m., to have a sunrise service. But the jailer made us stop the service. One of the white women prisoners called over to us and said she thought it was a shame for the jailer to act so nasty.

This was a very beautiful Easter and one of the most enjoyable ones. My family was up to see John and me. My boy friend, Robert Coleman, came also and we became engaged on Easter Sunday in the jail.

It does not matter where you are on such occasions. If you have God in your heart it can be as beautiful as ever. If you have God in your heart, you can conquer bitterness and hatred for those of your fellowmen who are trying to deny human beings their equal rights.

I do not feel bitterness or hatred toward them I only pity them. I remember what Jesus said dying on the Cross, "Forgive them, Father, for they know not what they do."

Voters Starved

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Negroes in Fayette County near here won a legal victory in their fight for the ballot, but they are being starved out by economic weapons.

The County Democratic Committee, defendants in a suit by the U.S. Justice Department, agreed to let Negroes vote in primaries. But meantime, a list of Negro voters in the county was circulated among white merchants and wholesalers. According to John McFerren, Negro leader, persons on the list are unable to buy food, clothing, or gas for tractors.

Police Learn

MOBILE, Ala. — The police chief, a captain, and 14 policemen attended the mass meeting which opened a workshop on non-violence sponsored by the Alabama Civic Affairs Association. They were there to learn about non-violence, not to arrest anybody.

. . . Named Protest Movement

(Continued from Page 2)

she seemed to identify herself with Negroes treated unjustly. Fellow-workers at the library recall one morning — long before the bus protest — when she arrived in tears and unable to work. On the bus she had heard a driver speaking brutally to a Negro passenger. Juliette was so upset that she got off and walked several blocks to her job.

Later she wrote: "I could not tell whether the Negro heard or not, but I did and felt insulted."

It is revealing, however, that many of her friends say they were not aware of her deep concern with segregation until her letter on the bus protest in 1955. This was not because she had not previously proclaimed her views often and publicly, but in those days the issue was not uppermost in everyone's mind. In 1955, she had not changed, but Montgomery had.

In the 1940's people of Juliette's persuasion could be written off as visionaries; in 1955 in Montgomery they had become a threat.

To the Negroes of the city, according to L. D. Reddick, her letter was an inspiration.

"Up until that time, expressions from white people had been to belittle the protest," he explains. "They said it wouldn't last long and didn't mean anything. Her letter grasped the significance of it and helped give many people a sense of history."

But to ardent segregationists, the letter was a red flag.

Threatening phone calls and bitter criticism descended on Juliette. People in high places demanded that she be fired.

The library administration, although disagreeing with her views, took the position that she had expressed them as a private citizen and refused to fire her. But they asked her not to write any more letters.

Juliette complied — for a time. Then came the Autherine Lucy case at the University of Alabama. As an alumna she identified herself with Miss Lucy and was deeply disappointed with the behavior of her alma mater.

When in January, 1957, Buford Boone, courageous editor of *The Tuscaloosa News*, made a speech to the White Citizens Council criticizing the university's actions, she was elated. She wrote him a letter and gave him permission to print it. In it she said:

"I had begun to wonder if there were any men in the state — any white men — with any moral courage . . ."

In March, 1957, the Montgomery County Citizens Council distributed this letter. With that the storm broke once more around Juliette. Again the cry arose that she be fired.

The library refused to give in. But like many white Southerners who break with tradition, Juliette suffered most not from attacks from extremists but from the knowledge that she was hurting and "causing trouble" for people she loved. Old friends at the university reproached her. She felt she was a burden to the library.

She had many friends who stood by her, but most of them did not really understand the compulsions which drove her to speak out. The people who could have given her the most support—the Negroes of Montgomery — were shut away from her by traditional Southern walls. They admired her, but most of them did not know her well and were not aware of what was happening to her. Virtually no one outside Montgomery knew of the incident.

Her health deteriorated rapidly. She took a leave from the library, and in July she died.

* * *

It is perhaps in keeping with Juliette's personality that today when the movement she helped formulate is sweeping the South her name is scarcely known outside Montgomery.

She did not see herself as a martyr or a heroine. She was, her friends say, modest to the point of being self-effacing. She never really wanted publicity. As one of her friends put it:

"I don't think she really wanted to write those letters. She suffered after each one and regretted it when it was printed. And yet when the issue rose anew, she did it again. She did it because she had to."

Undoubtedly if Juliette Morgan had not pointed out the similarity of the Montgomery movement to the Gandhi movement someone else would have done so eventually. But it is significant that she, a Southern white woman, was the one who saw it first at a moment when insight was needed and who put it into words.

1955 Letter Was Prophetic

This passage from Juliette Morgan's classic letter on Montgomery in 1955 applies well to Southwide events of 1960:

"It is hard to imagine a soul so dead, a heart so hard, a vision so blinded and provincial as not to be moved with admiration at the quiet dignity, discipline, and dedication with which the Negroes have conducted their boycott. . .

"Their cause and their conduct have filled me with great sympathy, pride, humility and envy. I envy their unity, their good humor, their fortitude, and their willingness to suffer for great Christian and democratic principles . . . The other side is willing to fight all right . . . but the case is such that it calls for no suffering or sacrifice on their parts. That weakens their case."

The Split Personalities

(By Staff Correspondent)

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — The trial of student demonstrators here revealed the inner conflicts which beset public officials and businessmen in the South. Caught between their avowed belief in democratic principles and their practice, they could not admit the true reason for the arrest of the students.

Howard Dixon and Tobias Simon, defense attorneys, naturally tried to show that their clients were arrested at the Woolworth lunch counter because of their color.

A city attorney leaped to his feet and cried in anguish: "There will be no racial question injected into this case unless defense counsel injects it. Racial matters are not at issue." City Solicitor Edward J. Hill once appealed to the judge to instruct Simon "to get off that race question."

Store manager S. T. Davidson testified that he wasn't unhappy because the students were Negroes; it was because their presence "seemed to cause apprehension on the part of some of the people in the store . . . because we felt it might cause a disturbance."

Former Mayor Hugh E. Williams, Jr., said he didn't order the students' arrest because of their color; it was because he "deemed their presence at the counter dangerous to the safety and welfare of the community."

Williams and police officers admitted that the students were polite, dignified and orderly. The judge ordered the students to pay $300 fines or spend 60 days in jail. Six chose jail.

Oklahoma Acts

OKLAHOMA CITY — Governor Edmondson's committee on human relations began a study of ways and means to end discrimination in the state — especially in restaurants. The committee was set up after prolonged pressure from Negro and religious groups, including plans for a mass demonstration.

James E. Stewart, NAACP leader and SCEF board member, asked the governor's committee to make a pronouncement against segregation. He said: "I believe the people will accept it."

Contempt Cases

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The U. S. Supreme Court has agreed to review the contempt convictions of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, who challenged the Un-American Committee's harassment of integrationists in Atlanta in 1958, Arguments will be in the fall.

In another Southern First Amendment fight, the trial of two Negro ministers charged with contempt was reset for May 30 in Tallahassee, Fla. The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson and the Rev. Edward T. Graham, both of Miami, were cited for refusing to let a state investigating committee check NAACP membership lists. (See December, 1959, Patriot.)